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## PROPER NAMES IN PLAUTUS, TERENCE, AND MENANDER

BY B. L. ULLMAN

The names that Plautus applies to his characters have been carefully studied by K. Schmidt (*Hermes* xxxvii, 173, 353, 608). No such study has been undertaken for Terence; nor has the still more important task of comparing and contrasting Plautus and Terence been accomplished. Finally there remains the comparison of Plautus, Terence, and the fragments of the other Roman comic poets with the fragments of the Greek New Comedy, a study which would help make clear the relation of the Roman writers to their Greek models. The fragments of the New Comedy were so few that no certain results could be hoped for; but the material has been augmented in recent years by the papyrus finds, and the study of this, coupled with a comparison of Plautus and Terence, should yield some definite results. In the present paper, I wish to call attention to the possible value of such a study by dealing with certain names of women, especially *hetaerae*, and by a very sketchy comparison of all the names in Plautus, Terence, and Menander.

Terence's favorite names for *hetaerae* end in *-is*: Bacchis (*Ht.*, *Hec.*), Chrysis (*And.*), Thais (*Eun.*). All the plays in which these names occur (except *Hec.*) are modeled on Menandrian plays, and all three names are found in the fragments of Menander. Terence uses no names in *-ium* for *hetaerae*, though this ending was often so used by Plautus and Greek writers.<sup>1</sup> The only sure instances in Menander are Nannium, Nannarium and Phanium, and even of these the first two may be true diminutives. It is unsafe to generalize on such scanty evidence, but it would seem that the Greek Menander, like Terence, the Roman Menander, was not especially fond of this form of name for *hetaerae*. Terence occasionally uses the diminutive for other classes: Phanium is a *virgo* in the *Phormio* (after Apollodorus; Menander names a play *Phanium*); Dorcium is a

<sup>1</sup> Philotium in the *Hecyra* (based on a play of Apollodorus) is a true diminutive of Philotis, as she is regularly called in the play.

slave in the *Phormio* (after Apollodorus); Glycerium is a *virgo* in the *Andria* (after Menander). Menander used the name Glycerium in the *Misogyne*, but we do not know the girl's station. Glycera is the heroine of the *Periceiomene*. Menander may have taken the name from his *hetaera* (she is referred to by the diminutive form of the name in Philostratus *Ep.* 68). We know that he referred to his Glycera by name in various plays (*Alciph.* i. 29; ii. 4. 20; *Ath.* 594d).

We find a different situation in Plautus. He uses many names in *-ium*, some of which are not found in Greek. Adopting the classification in Leo's index, there are in the twenty-one plays ten courtesans (one more in a fragment of the *Cornicularia*), four *ancillae*, one *tibicina*, two *puellae*, and one *virgo* with names in *-ium*. But the two *puellae* and the *virgo* are really *meretrices ingenuae*. He uses Bacchis but once—in the *Bacchides*, a Menandrian play. A Chrysis is mentioned in the *Pseudolus*, while Thais does not occur at all.

Another name that Terence uses for a *hetaera* is Pamphila, in the *Phormio*, a play based on one by Apollodorus. In the *Eunuchus* and the *Adelphi*, both Menandrian plays, Pamphila is a *virgo*. In Plautus' *Stichus*, a play derived from Menander, the best MS, A, gives Pamphila as the name of an *uxor*, sister of Panegyris.<sup>1</sup> In Menander's *Epitrepontes* Pamphila is the name of a wife. If the text is correct, a Pamphila is mentioned in one of the *fabulae incertae* in a context showing that she is not a *hetaera*. All this suggests, but by no means proves, that Menander preferred not to use the name as that of a *hetaera*.

For the general comparison of names in Plautus, Terence, and Menander, I took the character names in the index of Koerte's second edition of Menander, supplemented by those in Meineke's index and those used as titles of plays, and compared them with those in Plautus and Terence. The results would no doubt be somewhat changed by taking all the names in the fragments of the New Comedy, and still more if we had the complete plays of Menander, but we can get an approximate idea of the situation. It is clear that Terence, in his six plays, has more Menandrian names than Plautus

<sup>1</sup> For Panegyris, a non-Menandrian name, the scene heading of A has Philumena, a name used by Menander. This may or may not have some significance.

in his twenty-one plays. Barring doubtful cases, out of seventy-two<sup>1</sup> different names in the fragments of Menander, twenty-three appear in the six plays of Terence and only fourteen in the twenty-one plays of Plautus. Twenty appear in the four Menandrian plays of Terence (there are more than three in the other two plays because some names are found more than once), three in the three plays of Plautus that are almost certainly derived from Menander, and seven in the sixteen plays of Plautus that are surely or conceivably Menandrian (it is certain that five plays, and highly probable that more than five, are non-Menandrian). In other words, if we rate Terence's "Menandrianism"—to coin a word—as 100 per cent, Plautus' will be somewhere between 9 per cent and 20 per cent.

Taking another viewpoint, we note that of the twenty-four names which Menander uses in two or more plays and of which he may be assumed to be somewhat fond, twelve are not used by either Plautus or Terence, while twelve are used by Terence and only five by Plautus,<sup>2</sup> whose plays are three and one-half times as numerous as those of Terence. Plautus' "Menandrianism" is at the best but 12 per cent of Terence's. It is to be said, however, that two of those used by Terence are Laches and Myrrhina in the *Hecyra*, a non-Menandrian play (though Terence's model, Apollodorus, apparently followed Menander closely). Menander uses Davos, Laches, Moschio, and Chaerepho five times each. The last two of these are not found in Plautus or Terence.<sup>3</sup>

In the foregoing we have been comparing all the names, whether they were those of speaking characters or those merely mentioned. It would perhaps be fairer to compare the lists of characters. Such a comparison makes still clearer the similarity between Terence and Menander and the dissimilarity between Plautus and Terence on the one hand and Plautus and Menander on the other. We have the complete cast of characters of Menander's *Hero*. Geta, Davos, Myrrhina, Sophrona, and Laches are found in Terence, but only the

<sup>1</sup> There are undoubtedly mistakes in my statistics due to the feeling that absolute accuracy was not essential in this provisional sketch.

<sup>2</sup> All five are among Terence's twelve. The probable explanation is that these five were very common in the New Comedy. In that event the connection between Plautus and Menander would be even slighter than it appears to be.

<sup>3</sup> It is hardly fair to include Chaerepho who was a real person merely alluded to by Menander.

first three in the much more numerous plays of Plautus, while Phidias, Sangarius, and Gorgias are found in neither. We have so much of the *Epitrepontes* that we are fairly certain about the list of characters. Davos, Pamphila, and Sophrona are in Terence's lists, Davos and Pamphila (doubtful; see above), in those of Plautus. Onesimus, Smicrines, Charisius, Syriscus, Habrotonon, Chaerestratus, are not in the lists of either.

Another comparison is interesting. All the plays of Terence contain Menandrian names in their lists of characters. All but one (*Ht.*) contain at least three. The situation in Plautus is strikingly different. Only one play (*Truc.*) has as many as two Menandrian names in the list of characters, and five (*Amph.*, *Bacch.*, *Cas.*, *Ps.*, *Trin.*) have one each, leaving fifteen without any.

The foregoing material, scanty as it is, seems to show pretty clearly that Terence is more Menandrian in his choice of names than Plautus. It is by no means certain that he retained the names that he found in the plays of Menander,<sup>1</sup> but it is at least clear that he kept rather close to the Menandrian standard. How shall we explain the Plautine situation? Shall we maintain that he followed his originals and that his divergence from the Menandrian norm shows that his originals were written by poets other than Menander? This is impossible because surely four plays (the number of plays in which Terence used Menandrian plays as models) and probably several more, are based on Menander,<sup>2</sup> and so Plautus' plays ought to reveal at least as many Menandrian names as those of Terence. We must conclude that Plautus handled his sources rather freely in the matter of names, using a species of *contaminatio*, if the word may be thus employed, or else going outside the field of New Comedy altogether.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, ed. 2, p. 107. On the other hand Schoell shows (*Sitzungsber. phil.-hist. Kl. Heidelberg. Akad.*, 1912, No. 7; known to me only from Fossataro's summary in *Riv. Fil. Cl.*, XLII [1914], 449 ff.) that the name and character of Byrria in the *Andria* was taken from Menander's *Perinthia*, and argues that the same was true of Charinus.

<sup>2</sup> We are sure of the *Stichus*, and all but sure of the *Bacchides* and *Cistellaria*. For several others there is evidence more or less convincing.

<sup>3</sup> Leo (*Plaut. Forsch.*, ed. 2, p. 110, n. 1) says briefly that the difference between Plautus and Menander in the matter of names has now become clearer (through the discovery of the Menander fragments).